De Gregys el mejor es de la Rosa

THE KINGS MAIESTIES SPEACH

To the Lords and Commons *of this preſent Parliament at Whitehall*, on Wedneſday the xxj. of March.

ANNO DOM. 1609.

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Rou: Widdrad.

HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE

THE KINGS MAIESTIES SPEACH to the Lords and Commons of this preſent Parliament at *Whitehall*, &c.

WE being now in the middeſt of this ſeaſon appointed for penitence & prayer, it hath ſo fallen out, that theſe two laſt dayes haue bin ſpent in a farre other ſort of exerciſe, I meane in Euchariſticke Sacrifice, and gratulation of thankes, preſented vnto mee by both the partes of this body of Parliament: and therefore to make vp the number of three, (which is the number of Trinitie, and perfection) I haue thought good to make this the third Day, to be ſpent in this exerciſe.

As ye made me a faire Preſent indeede

in preſenting your thanks and louing duties vnto mee : So haue I now called you here, to recompence you againe with a great and a rare Preſent, which is a faire and a Chriſtall Mirror; Not ſuch a Mirror wherein you may ſee your owne faces, or ſhadowes; but ſuch a Mirror, or Chriſtall, as through the tranſparantneſſe thereof, you may ſee the heart of your King. The Philoſophers wiſh, That euery mans breſt were a Chriſtall, where-through his heart might be ſeene, is vulgarly knowen, and I touched it in one of my former Speeches vnto you. But though that were impoſſible in the generall, yet will I now performe this for my part, That as it is a true Axiome in Diuinitie, That *Cor Regis* is *in manu Domini*, So will I now ſet *Cor Regis in oculis populi*. I know that I can ſay nothing at this time, whereof ſome of you that are here, haue not at one time or other, heard mee ſay the like already : Yet as corporall food nouriſheth and mainteineth the body, ſo doeth *Reminiſcentia* nouriſh and mainteine memory.

I will

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I Will reduce to three generall and maine grounds, the principall things that haue bene agitated in this Parliament, and whereot I will now ſpeake.

Firſt, the Arrand for which you were called by me; and that was, for ſupporting of my ſtate, and neceſſities.

The ſecond is, that which the people are to moue vnto the King: To repreſent vnto him ſuch things, whereby the Subiects are vexed, or wherein the ſtate of the Common wealth is to be redreſſed: And that is the thing which you call grieuances.

The third ground that hath beene handled amongſt you, and not onely in talke amongſt you in the Parliament, but euen in many other peoples mouthes, aſwell within, as without the Parliament, is of a higher nature then any of the former (though it be but an Incident;) And the reaſon is, becauſe it concernes a higher point, And this is a doubt, which hath bene in the heads of ſome, of my Intention in two things.

Firſt, whether I was reſolued in the generall, to continue ſtill my gouernment according to the ancient forme of this State, and the Lawes of this Kingdome: Or if I had an intention not to limit my ſelfe within thoſe bounds, but to alter the ſame when I thought conuenient, by the abſolute power of a King.

The other branch is anent the Common Law, which ſome had a conceit I diſliked, and (in reſpect that I was borne where another forme of Law was eſtabliſhed) that I would haue wiſhed the Ciuill Law to haue bin put in place of the Common Law for gouernment of this people. And the complaint made amongſt you of a book written by Doctor *Cowel*, was a part of the occaſion of this incident. But as touching my cenſure of that booke, I made it already to be deliuered vnto you by the Treaſurer here ſitting, which he did out of my owne directions and notes; and what he ſaid in my Name, that had he directly from me. But what he ſpake of himſelfe therein without my direction, I ſhall alwayes

wayes make good; for you may be ſure I will be loth to make ſo honeſt a man a lyer, or deceiue your expectations: alwayes within very few dayes my Edict ſhal come forth anent that matter, which ſhall fully diſcouer my meaning.

There was neuer any reaſon to mooue men to thinke, that I could like of ſuch grounds: For there are two qualities principally, or rather priuations, that make Kings ſubiect to flattery; *Credulitie* and *Ignorance*; and I hope none of them can bee iuſtly obiected to me. For if *Alexander* the great, for all his learning, had bene wiſe in that point to haue conſidered the ſtate of his owne naturall body and diſpoſition, he would neuer haue thought himſelfe a god. And now to the matter. As it is a Chriſtian duetie in euery man, *Reddere rationem fidei*, and not to be aſhamed to giue an account of his profeſsion before men, and Angels, as oft as occaſion ſhall require: So did I euer hold it a neceſsity of honour in a iuſt and wiſe King, though not to giue an account to his people of his actions, yet

clearely

clearely to deliuer his heart and intention vnto them vpon euery occaſion. But I muſt inuert my order, and begin firſt with that incident which was laſt in my diuiſion (though higheſt of nature) and ſo goe backward.

THe State of MONARCHIE is the ſupremeſt thing vpon earth. For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and ſit vpon GODS throne, but euen by GOD himſelfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall ſimilitudes that illuſtrate the ſtate of MONARCHIE: One taken out of the word of GOD; and the two other out of the grounds of Policie and Philoſophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and ſo their power after a certaine relation compared to the Diuine power. Kings are alſo compared to Fathers of families: for a King is truely *Parens patriæ*, the politique father of his people. And laſtly Kings are compared to the head of this Microcoſme of the body of man.

Kings

The Kings Maieſties ſpeach.

Kings are iuſtly called Gods, for that they exerciſe a manner or reſemblance of Diuine power vpon earth. For if you will conſider the Attributes to God, you ſhall ſee how they agree in the perſon of a king. God hath power to create, or deſtroy, make, or vnmake at his pleaſure, to giue life, or ſend death, to iudge all, and to be iudged nor accomptable to none: To raiſe low things, and to make high things low at his pleaſure, and to God are both ſoule and body due. And the like power haue Kings: they make and vnmake their ſubiects: they haue power of raiſing, and caſting downe: of life, and of death: Iudges ouer all their ſubiects, and in all cauſes, and yet accomptable to none but God onely. They haue power to exalt low things, and abaſe high things, and make of their ſubiects like men at the Cheſſe; A pawne to take a Biſhop or a Knight, and to cry vp, or downe any of their ſubiects, as they doe their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the ſoule, and the ſeruice of the body of his ſubiects. And there-

fore that reuerend Biſhop here amongſt you, though I heare that by diuers he was miſtaken or not well vnderſtood, yet did he preach both learnedly and truely anent this point concerning the power of a King. For what he ſpake of a Kings power in *Abſtracto*, is moſt true in Diuinitie. For to Emperours, or Kings that are Monarches, their Subiects bodies and goods are due for their defence and maintenance. But if I had bene in his place, I would onely haue added two wordes, which would haue cleared all: For after I had told as a Diuine, what was due by the Subiects to their Kings in generall, I would then haue concluded as an Engliſhman, ſhewing this people, That as in generall all Subiects were bound to relieue their King; So to exhort them, that as wee liued in a ſetled ſtate of a kingdome which was gouerned by his owne fundamentall Lawes and Orders, that according thereunto, they were now (being aſſembled for this purpoſe in Parliament) to conſider how to helpe ſuch a King as now they had; And that according

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ding to the ancient forme, and order eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome: putting ſo, a difference betweene the generall power of a King in Diuinity, and the ſetled and eſtabliſhed State of this Crowne, and Kingdome. And I am ſure that the Biſhop meant to haue done the ſame, if hee had not bene ſtraited by time, which in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the preſence preaching before me, and ſuch an Auditory, he durſt not preſume vpon.

As for the Father of a familie, they had of olde vnder the Law of Nature *Patriam poteſtatem*, which was *Poteſtatem vitæ & necis*, ouer their children or familie, (I meane ſuch Fathers of families as were the lineall heires of thoſe families whereof Kings did originally come.) For Kings had their firſt originall from them, who planted and ſpread themſelues in *Colonies* through the world. Now a Father may diſpoſe of his Inheritance to his children, at his pleaſure: yea, euen diſinherite the eldeſt vpon iuſt occaſion, and preferre the youngeſt, according to his liking: make

them beggers, or rich at his pleasure: restraine, or banish out of his presence, as he finds them giue cause of offence, or restore them in fauour againe with the penitent sinner: So may the King deale with his Subiects.

And lastly, as for the head of the naturall body, the head hath the power of directing all the members of the body to that vse which the iudgement in the head thinkes most conuenient. It may apply sharpe cures, or cut off corrupt members, let blood in what proportion it thinks fit, and as the body may spare, but yet is all this power ordeined by God *Ad ædificationem, non ad destructionem.* For although God haue power aswell of destruction, as of creation or maintenance, yet will it not agree with the wisedome of God, to exercise his power in the destruction of nature, & ouerturning the whole frame of things, since his creatures were made, that his glorie might thereby be the better expressed: So were he a foolish father that would disinherite or destroy his children without a

cause,

cauſe, or leaue off the carefull education of them; And it were an idle head that would in place of phiſicke ſo poyſon or phlebotomize the body as might breede a dangerous diſtemper or deſtruction thereof.

But now in theſe our times wee are to diſtinguiſh betweene the ſtate of Kings in their firſt originall, and betweene the ſtate of ſetled Kings and Monarches, that doe at this time gouerne in ciuill Kingdomes. For euen as God, during the time of the olde Teſtament, ſpake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles; yet how ſoone it pleaſed him to ſettle a *Church* which was bought, and redeemed by the blood of his onely Sonne *Chriſt*, then was there a ceſſation of both; He euer after gouerning his people and Church within the limits of his reueiled will. So in the firſt originall of Kings, whereof ſome had their beginning by Conqueſt, and ſome by election of the people, their willes at that time ſerued for Law; Yet how ſoone Kingdomes began to be ſetled in ciuilitie and policie, then did Kings ſet downe their mindes by Lawes,

which are properly made by the King onely; but at the rogation of the people, the Kings graunt being obteined thereunto. And ſo the King became to be *Lex loquens*, after a ſort, binding himſelfe by a double othe to the obſeruation of the fundamentall Lawes of his Kingdome: *Tacitly*, as by being a King, & ſo bound to protect aſwel the people, as the Lawes of his kingdome; And *Expreſly*, by his othe at his Coronation: So as euery iuſt King in a ſetled kingdome is bound to obſerue that paction made to his people by his Lawes, in framing his gouernment agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with *Noe* after the deluge, *Hereafter Seede time, and Harueſt, Cold and Heate, Sommer and Winter, and Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe, ſo long as the earth remaines.* And therefore a King gouerning in a ſetled Kingdome, leaues to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, aſſoone as hee leaues off to rule according to his Lawes. In which caſe the Kings conſcience may ſpeake vnto him, as the poore widow ſayd

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to *Philip* of Macedon ; Either gouerne according to your Law, *Aut ne Rex ſis.* And though no Chriſtian man ought to allow any rebellion of people againſt their Prince, yet doeth God neuer leaue Kings vnpuniſhed when they tranſgreſſe theſe Limits : For in that ſame Pſalme where God ſayth to Kings, *Vos Dij eſtis*, hee immediatly thereafter concludes, But ye ſhall die like men. The higher wee are placed, the greater ſhall our fa'l bee. *Vt caſus, ſic dolor* : the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the winde ; and the tempeſt beates ſoreſt vpon the higheſt mountaines. Therefore all Kings that are not tyrants, or periured, will be glad to bound themſelues within the limits of their Lawes; and they that perſwade them the contrary, are vipers, & peſts, both againſt them, and the Common wealth. For it is a great difference betweene a Kings gouernment in a ſetled State, and what Kings in their originall power might doe in *Indiuiduo vago*. As for my part, I thanke God, I haue euer giuen good proofe, that I neuer had

had intention to the contrary: And I am ſure to goe to my graue with that reputation and comfort, that neuer King was in all his time more careful to haue his Lawes duely obſerued, and himſelfe to gouerne thereafter, then I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of Kings, with this Axiome of Diuinitie, That as to diſpute what God may doe, is Blaſphemie; but *quid vult Deus*, that Diuines may lawfully, and doe ordinarily diſpute and diſcuſſe; for to diſpute *A Poſſe ad Eſſe* is both againſt Logicke and Diuinitie: So is it Sedition in Subiects, to diſpute what a King may do in the height of his power: But iuſt kings will euer be willing to declare what they will doe, if they will not incurre the curſe of God. I will not be content that my power be diſputed vpon: but I ſhall euer be willing to make the reaſon appeare of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my Lawes.

The other branch of this incident is concerning the Common Law, being conceiued

ceiued by ſome, that I contemned it, and preferred the Ciuill Law thereunto; As I haue already ſaid, Kings actions (euen in the ſecreteſt places) are as the actions of thoſe that are ſet vpon the Stages, or on the tops of houſes: and I hope neuer to ſpeake that in priuate, which I ſhall not auow in publique, and print it if need bee, (as I ſayd in my *Baſilicon Doron.*) For it is true, that within theſe few dayes I ſpake freely my minde touching the Common Law in my Priuie Chamber, at the time of my dinner, which is come to all your eares; and the ſame was likewiſe related vnto you by my Treaſurer; and now I will againe repeate and confirme the ſame my ſelfe vnto you. Firſt, as a King, I haue leaſt cauſe of any man to diſlike the Common Law: For no Law can be more fauourable and aduantagious for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogatiue, then it doeth: And for a King of ENGLAND to deſpiſe the Common Law, it is to neglect his owne Crowne. It is true, that I doe greatly eſteeme the Ciuill Law, the profeſ-

ſion thereof ſeruing more for generall learning, and being moſt neceſſary for matters of Treatie with all forreine Nations: And I thinke that it it ſhould be taken away, it would make an entrie to Barbariſme in this Kingdome, and would blemiſh the honour of ENGLAND: For it is in a manner *Lex Gentium*, and maintaineth Intercourſe with all forreine Nations: but I only allow it to haue courſe here according to thoſe limits of Iuriſdiction, which the Common law it ſelfe doth allow it. And therfore though it be not fit for the generall gouernement of the people here; it doth not follow, it ſhould be extinct, no more, then becauſe the Latin tongue is not the Mother or Radicall language of any Nation in the world at this time, that therefore the Engliſh tongue ſhould only now be learned in this Kingdome, which were to bring in Barbariſme. My meaning therefore is not, to preferre the Ciuill Law before the Common Law; but onely that it ſhould not be extinguiſhed, and yet ſo bounded, I meane to ſuch Courts and Cauſes)

Cauſes) as haue bin in ancient vſe; As the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, Court of Admiralty, Court of Requeſts, and ſuch like, reſeruing euer to the Common Law to meddle with the fundamental Lawes of this Kingdome, either concerning the Kings Prerogatiue, or the poſſeſsions of Subiects, in any queſtions, either betweene the King, and any of them, or amongſt themſelues, in the points of *Meum & tuum* For it is true, that there is no Kingdome in the world, not onely Scotland, but not France, nor Spaine, nor any other Kingdome gouerned meerely by the Ciuill Law, but euery one of them hath their owne municipall Lawes agreeable to their Cuſtomes, as this kingdome hath the Common Law: Nay, I am ſo farre from diſallowing the Common Law, as I proteſt, that if it were in my hand to chuſe a new Law for this kingdome, I would not onely preferre it before any other Nationall Law, but euen before the very Iudiciall Law of *Moyſes*: and yet I ſpeake no blaſphemy in preferring it for conueniencie to this kingdome, and at

this time, to the very Law of God : For God gouerned his ſelected people by theſe three Lawes, *Ceremoniall*, *Morall*, and *Iudiciall* : The *Iudiciall*, being onely fit for a certaine people, and a certaine time, which could not ſerue for the general of all other people and times. As for example, If the Law of hanging for Theft, were turned here to reſtitution of treble or quadruple, as it was in the Law of *Moyſes*, what would become of all the middle Shires, and all the Iriſhrie and Highlanders? But the maine point is, That if the fundamentall Lawes of any Kingdome ſhould be altered, who ſhould diſcerne what is *Meum, & tuum*, or how ſhould a King gouerne? It would be like the *Gregorian* Calender, which deſtroyes the old, and yet doeth this new trouble all the debts and Accompts of Traffickes and Merchandizes : Nay by that accompt I can neuer tell mine owne age; for now is my Birth-day remooued by the ſpace of ten dayes neerer me then it was before the change. But vpon the other part,

though

though I haue in one point preferred our Common Law, concerning our vse, to the very Law of God; yet in another respect I must say, both our Law and all Lawes else are farre inferiour to that Iudiciall Law of God; for no booke nor Law is perfect nor free from corruption, except onely the booke and Law of God. And therefore I could wish some three things specially to bee purged and cleared in the Common Law; but alwayes by the aduise of Parliament: For the King with his Parliament heere are absolute, (as I vnderstand) in making or forming of any sort of Lawes.

First I could wish that it were written in our vulgar language: for now it is in an old, mixt, & corrupt language, only vnderstood by Lawyers; whereas euery Subiect ought to vnderstand the Law vnder which he liues: For since it is our plea against the Papists, that the language in Gods seruice ought not to bee in an vnknowen tongue, according to the rule in the Law of *Moyses*, That the Law should bee written in the

fringes of the Prieſts garment, and ſhould be publikely read in the eares of all the people: ſo me thinkes ought our Law to be made as plaine as can be to the people, that the excuſe of ignorance may be taken from them, for conforming themſelues thereunto.

Next, our Common Law hath not a ſettled Text in all Caſes, being chiefly grounded either vpon old Cuſtomes, or els vpon the Reports and Caſes of Iudges, which ye call *Reſponſa Prudentum.* The like whereof is in all other Lawes: for they are much ruled by Preſidents (ſaue onely in *Denmarke and Norway*, where the letter of the Law reſolues all doubts without any trouble to the Iudge,) But though it be true, that no Text of Law can be ſo certaine, wherein the circumſtances will not make a variation in the Caſe, (for in this age, mens wits increaſe ſo much by ciuilitie, that the circumſtances of euery particuler caſe varies ſo much from the generall Text of Law, as in the Ciuill Law it ſelfe, there are therefore ſo many Doctors that

comment

comment vpon the Text, and neuer a one almoſt agrees with another; Otherwiſe there needed no Iudges, but the bare letter of the Law.) Yet could I wiſh that ſome more certaintie were ſet downe in this caſe by Parliament: for ſince the very Reports themſelues are not alwayes ſo binding, but that diuers times Iudges doe diſclaime them, and recede from the iudgement of their predeceſſors; it were good, that vpon a mature deliberation, the expoſition of the Law were ſet downe by act of Parliament, and ſuch reports therein confirmed, as were thought fit to ſerue for Law in all times hereafter, and ſo the people ſhould not depend vpon the bare opinions of Iudges, and vncertaine Reports.

And laſtly, there be in the Common Law diuers contrary Reports, and Preſidents: and this corruption doeth likewiſe concerne the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, in reſpect there are diuers croſſe and cuffing Statutes, and ſome ſo penned, as they may be taken in diuers, yea contrary ſences. And therefore would I wiſh both

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thoſe Statutes and Reports, aſwell in the Parliament as Common Law, to be once maturely reuiewed, and reconciled; And that not onely all contrarieties ſhould be ſcraped out of our Bookes, but euen that ſuch penall Statutes as were made, but for the vſe of the time (from breach whereof no man can be free) which doe not now agree with the condition of this our time, might likewiſe be left out of our bookes, which vnder a tyrannous or auaritious King could not be endured. And this reformation might (me thinkes) be made a worthy worke, and well deſerues a Parliament to be ſet of purpoſe for it.

I know now that being vpon this point of the Common Law, you looke to heare my opinion concerning Prohibitions; and I am not ignorant that I haue bin thought to be an enemie to all Prohibitions, and an vtter ſtayer of them. But I wil ſhortly now informe you what hath bene my courſe in proceeding therein. It is true that in reſpect of diuers honourable Courts, and Iuriſdictions planted in this Kingdome, I

haue

haue often wiſhed that euery Court had his owne true limit, and iuriſdiction clearly ſet downe, and certainly knowen; which if it be exceeded by any of them, or that any of them encroch one vpon another, then I grant that a Prohition in that caſe is to goe out of the *Kings Bench*, but chiefliest out of the *Chancery*; for other Benches I am not yet ſo well reſolued of their Iuriſdiction in that point. And for my part, I was neuer againſt Prohibitions of this nature, nor the true vſe of them, which is indeed to keep euery Riuer within his owne bankes and channels. But when I ſaw the ſwelling and ouerflowing of Prohibitions in a farre greater abundance then euer before, euery Court ſtriuing to bring in moſt moulture to their owne Mill, by multitudes of Cauſes, which is a diſeaſe very naturall to all Courts and Iuriſdictions in the world; Then dealt I with this Cauſe, and that at two ſeuerall times, once in the middeſt of Winter, and againe in the middeſt of the next following Summer; At euery of which times I ſpent three

whole dayes in that labour. And then after a large hearing, I tolde them as *Chriſt* ſaid concerning Marriage, *Ab initio non fuit ſic.* For as God conteines the Sea within his owne bounds, and marches (as it is in the *Pſalmes*) So is it my office to make euery Court conteine himſelfe within his owne limits; And therefore I gaue admonitions to both ſides: To the other Courts, that they ſhould be carefull hereafter euery of them, to conteine themſelues within the bounds of their owne Iuriſdictions; and to the Courts of Common Law, that they ſhould not be ſo forward, and prodigall in multiplying their Prohibitions. Two cautions I willed them to obſerue in graunting their Prohibitions: Firſt, that they ſhould bee graunted in a right and lawfull forme: And next, that they ſhould not grant them, but vpon a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe. As to the forme, it was, that none ſhould begranted by any one particuler Iudge, or in time of Vacation, or in any other place, but openly in court. And to this the Iudges themſelues gaue their

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willing aſſent. And as to the Cauſe, That they ſhould not be granted vpon euery ſleight ſurmiſe, or information of the partie, but alwayes that a due and graue examination ſhould firſt preceed. Otherwiſe if Prohibitions ſhould raſhly, and headily be granted, then no man is the more ſecure of his owne, though he hath gotten a ſentence with him: For as good haue no Law, or Sentence, as to haue no execution thereof. A poore Miniſter with much labour and expenſe, hauing exhauſted his poore meanes, and being forced to forbeare his ſtudy, and to become *non reſident* from his flocke, obtaines a *Sentence*, and then when hee lookes to enioy the fruits thereof, he is defrauded of all by a *Prohibition*, according to the parable of Chriſt, That night when he thinkes himſelfe moſt happy, ſhall his ſoule be taken from him: And ſo is he tortured like *Tantalus*, who when he hath the Apple at his mouth, and that he is gaping and opening his mouth to receiue it, then muſt it be pulled from him by a *Prohibition*, and hee

not suffered to taste thereof. So as to conclude this point, I put a difference between the true vse of Prohibitions, and the superabounding abuse therof: for as a thing which is good, ought not therefore be abused; so ought not the lawfull vse of a good thing be forborne, because of the abuse thereof.

NOw the second general ground whereof I am to speake, concernes the matter of *Grieuances*: There are two speciall causes of the peoples presenting grieuances to their King in time of Parliament. First, for that the King cannot at other times be so well informed of all the grieuances of his people, as in time of Parliament, which is the representatiue body of the whole Realme. Secondly, the Parliament is the highest Court of Iustice, and therefore the fittest place where diuers natures of grieuances may haue their proper remedie, by the establishment of good and wholesome Lawes. But though my Speach was before directed to the whole Body of Parliament; yet in this case I must

addresse

addreſſe my Speech in ſpeciall to you of the Lower Houſe.

I am now then to recommend vnto your conſiderations the matter and manner of your handling and preſenting of grieuances. As for the manner, though I will not denie, but that yee, repreſenting the Body of the people, may as it were both *opportunè* and *inopportunè* (I meane either in Parliament as a Body, or out of Parliament as priuate men) preſent your grieuances vnto mee; yet would I haue you to vſe this caution in your behauiour in this point: which is, that your grieuances be not as it were greedily ſought out by you, or taken vp in the ſtreetes (as one ſaid) thereby to ſhew a willingneſſe that you would haue a ſhew made, that there are many abuſes in the gouernment, and many cauſes of complaint: but that according to your firſt inſtitution, yee ſhould only meddle with ſuch grieuances, as your ſelues doe know had need of reformation, or had informations thereof in your countreys for which you ſerue, and not ſo to

multiply them, as might make it noiſed amongſt the people, that al things in the gouernment were amiſſe and out of frame. For euen at the beginning of this very Seſſion of Parliamẽt, the general name of grieuances being mentioned among you, ſuch a conceipt came in the heads of many, that you had a deſire to multiply and make a great muſter of them, as euery one exhibited what his particular ſpleene ſtirred him vnto. Indeede there fell out an accident vpon this occaſion, for which I haue reaſon to thanke you of the Lower houſe, I meane for your fire worke; wherein I confeſſe you did Honour to me, and right to your ſelues. For hauing one afternoone found many grieuances cloſely preſented in papers, and ſo all thruſt vp in a ſacke together, (rather like *Paſquils*, then any lawfull Complaints) farre againſt your owne Orders, and diuers of them proceeding from grudging and murmuring ſpirits; you, vpon the hearing read two or three of the firſt lines of diuers of them, were not content with a publique conſent to condemne

condemne them, & to diſcharge any further reading of them, but you alſo made a publique bonefire of them. In this, I ſay, you ſhewed your care and ielouſneſſe of my Honour, and I ſent you thankes for it by the Chancellour of the Exchequer, a member of your own houſe, who by your appointment, that ſame night acquainted me with your proceedings; And by him alſo I promiſed at that time, that you ſhould heare more of my thanks for the ſame at the firſt occaſion; And now I tell you it my ſelfe, that you may know how kindely I take your duetifull behauiour in this caſe. But ſince this was a good effect of an ill cauſe, I muſt not omit alſo to admoniſh you vpon the other part, to take a courſe amongſt your ſelues, to preuent the like accident in all times hereafter: otherwiſe the Lower houſe may become a place for *Paſquils*, and at another time ſuch grieuances may be caſt in amongſt you, as may conteine Treaſon or ſcandal againſt Me, or my Poſteritie. Therefore in this caſe, looke ouer your ancient Orders, and follow

low them, and suffer not hereafter any petitions or grieuances to be deliuered obscurely or in the darke, but openly and avowedly in your Publique house, & there to be presented to the Speaker. And as to the matter of your Grieuances, I wish you here now to vnderstand me rightly. And because I see many writing and noting, I will craue your pardons, to holde you a little longer by speaking the more distinctly, for feare of mistaking.

First then, I am not to finde fault that you informe your selues of the particular iust Grieuances of the people; Nay, I must tell you, ye can neither be iust nor faithfull to me, or to your Countries that trust and imploy you, if you doe it not. For true Plaints proceede not from the persons imployed, but from the Body represented, which is the people. And it may very well be, that many Directions and Commissions iustly giuen forth by me, may be abused in the Execution therof, vpon the people: and yet I neuer to receiue information, except it come by your meanes, at such

a time

a time as this is; (as in the caſe of *Stephen Procter.*) But I would wiſh you to be carefull to auoide three things in the matter of Grieuances.

Firſt, that you do not meddle with the maine points of Gouernement; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that, were to leſſon me: I am now an olde King; for ſix and thirty yeres haue I gouerned in *Scotland* perſonally, and now haue I accompliſhed my apprenticeſhip of ſeuen yeres here; and ſeuen yeres is a great time for a kings experience in Gouernement: Therefore there would not bee too many *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*: I muſt not be taught my Office.

Secondly, I would not haue you meddle with ſuch ancient Rights of mine, as I haue receiued from my Predeceſſors, poſſeſsing them, *More Maiorum*: ſuch things I would be ſorie ſhould be accounted for grieuances. All nouelties are dangerous as well in a politique as in a naturall Bodie. And therefore I would be loth to be quarrelled in my ancient rights and poſſeſsi-

ons: for that were to iudge me vnworthy of that which my Predeceſſors had, and left me.

And laſtly, I pray you beware to exhibite for grieuance any thing that is eſtabliſhed by a ſetled Law, and whereunto (as you haue already had a proofe) you know I will neuer giue a plauſible anſwere: For it is an vndutifull part in Subiects to preſſe their King, wherein they know beforehand hee will refuſe them. Now, if any Law or Statute be not conuenient, let it be amended by Parliament, but in the meane time terme it not a grieuance: for to bee grieued with the Law, is to be grieued with the King, who is ſworne to bee the Patron and maintainer thereof. But as all men are fleſh, and may erre in the execution of Lawes; So may ye iuſtly make a grieuance of any abuſe of the Law, diſtinguiſhing wiſely betweene the faults of the perſon, and the thing it ſelfe. As for example, Complaints may be made vnto you of the high Commiſsioners: If ſo be, try the abuſe, and ſpare not to complaine vpon it,

but

but ſay not there ſhall be no Commiſsion: For that were to abridge the power that is in me: and I will plainely tell you, That ſomething I haue with my ſelfe reſolued annent that point, which I meane euer to keepe, except I ſee other great cauſe: which is, That in regard the high Commiſsion is of ſo high a nature, from which there is no appellation to any other Court, I haue thought good to reſtraine it onely to the two Archbiſhops, where before it was common amongſt a great part of the Biſhops in England. This Law I haue ſet to my ſelfe, and therefore you may be aſſured, that I will neuer finde fault with any man, nor thinke him the more Puritane, that will complaine to mee out of Parliament, aſwell as in Parliament, of any error in execution thereof, ſo that he prooue it; Otherwiſe it were but a calumnie. Onely I would be loth that any man ſhould grieue at the Commiſsion it ſelfe, as I haue already ſaid. Ye haue heard (I am ſure) of the paines I tooke both in the cauſes of the Admiralty, and of the Prohibitions: If

any man therefore will bring me any iuſt complaints vpon any matters of ſo high a nature as this is, ye may aſſure your ſelues that I will not ſpare my labour tn hearing it. In faith you neuer had a more painefull King, or that will be readier in his perſon to determine cauſes that are fit for his hearing. And when euer any of you ſhall make experience of me in this point, yee may be ſure neuer to want acceſſe, nor ye ſhall neuer come wrong to mee, in, or out of Parliament.

And now to conclude this purpoſe of Grieuances, I haue one generall grieuance to commend vnto you, and that in the behalfe of the Countreys from whence ye come. And this is, to pray you to beware that your Grieuances ſauour not of particular mens thoughts, but of the generall griefes riſing out of the mindes of the people, and not out of the humor of the propounder. And therefore I would wiſh you to take heede carefully, and conſider of the partie that propounds the grieuance: for ye may (if ye liſt) eaſily

diſcerne

diſcerne whether it be his owne paſsion, or the peoples grief, that makes him to ſpeak: for many a man will in your houſe propound a Grieuance out of his owne humour, becauſe (peraduenture) hee accounts highly of that matter: and yet the countrey that imployes him, may perhaps either be of a contrary minde, or (at leaſt) little care for it. As for example, I aſſure you, I can very well ſmell betweene a Petition that mooues from a generall Grieuance, or ſuch a one as comes from the ſpleene of ſome particular perſon, either againſt Eccleſiaſticall gouernement in generall, or the perſon of any one Noble man, or Commiſsioner in particular.

AND now the third point remaines to bee ſpoken of; which is the cauſe of my calling of this Parliament. And in this I haue done but as I vſe to do in all my life, which is to leaue mine owne arrend hindmoſt.

It may bee you did wonder that I did not ſpeake vnto you publikely at the be-

ginning of this Sefsion of Parliament, to tell you the cauſe of your calling, as I did (if I be rightly remembred) in euery Seſſion before. But the trueth is, that becauſe I call you at this time for my particular Errand, I thought it fitter to be opened vnto you by my Treaſurer, who is my publike and moſt principall Officer in matters of that nature, then that I ſhould doe it my ſelfe: for I confeſſe I am leſſe naturally eloquent, and haue greater cauſe to diſtruſt mine elocution in matters of this nature; then in any other thing. I haue made my Treaſurer already to giue you a very cleare and true accompt, both of my hauing, and expenſes. A fauour I confeſſe, that *Kings* doe ſeldome beſtow vpon their *Subiects*, in making them ſo particularly acquainted with their ſtate. If I had not more then cauſe, you may be ſure I would be loth to trouble you. But what hee hath affirmed in this, vpon the honour of a Gentleman, (whom you neuer had cauſe to diſtruſt for his honeſtie) that doe I now confirme and auow to be true in the word and honour

of

of a King: And therein you are bound to beleeue me. Duety I may iuſtly claime of you as my Subiects; and one of the branches of duety which Subiects owe to their Soueraigne, is Supply: but in what quantitie, and at what time, that muſt come of your loues. I am not now therfore to diſpute of a Kings power, but to tell you what I may iuſtly craue, and expect with your good wills. I was euer againſt all extremes; and in this caſe I will likewiſe wiſh you to auoid them on both ſides. For if you faile in the one, I might haue great cauſe to blame you as Parliament men, being called by me for my Errands: And if you fall into the other extreme, by ſupply of my neceſsities without reſpectiue care to auoid oppreſsion or partialitie in the Leuie, both I and the Countrey will haue cauſe to blame you.

When I thinke vpon the compoſition of this body of Parliament, I doe well conſider that the Vpper houſe is compoſed of the Seculer Nobilitie, who are hereditary Lords of Parliament; and of Biſhops, that

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are liue Renter Barons of the ſame: And therefore what is giuen by the Vpper-houſe, is giuen onely from the true body of that Houſe, and out of their owne purſes that doe giue it; whereas the Lower-houſe is but the repreſentatiue body of the Commons, and ſo what you giue, you giue it aſwell for others, as for your ſelues: and therefore you haue the more reaſon to eſchew both the extreames. On the one part, yee may the more eaſily be liberall, ſince it comes not all from your ſelues; and yet vpon the other part, if yee giue more then is fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld vpon ſuch neceſſary occaſions, ye abuſe the King, and hurt the people; And ſuch a gift I will neuer accept: For in ſuch a caſe you might deceiue a King, in giuing your flattering conſent to that which you know might mooue the people generally to grudge and murmure at it, & ſo ſhould the King finde himſelfe deceiued in his *Calcule*, and the people likewiſe grieued in their hearts; the loue and poſſeſsion of which (I proteſt) I did, and euer will accompt

compt the greateſt earthly ſecuritie (next the ſauour of God) to any wiſe or iuſt King. For though it was vainely ſaid by one of your Houſe, That ye had need to beware, that by giuing me too much, your throats were not in danger of cutting at your comming home: yet may ye aſſure your ſelues, that I will euer be lothe to preſſe you to doe that which may wrong the people, and make you iuſtly to beare the blame thereof. But that ye may the better be acquainted with my inclination, I will appeale to a number of my Priuie Counſell here preſent, if that before the calling of this Parliament, & when I found that the neceſsitie of my eſtate required ſo great a ſupply, they found me more deſirous to obtaine that which I was forced to ſeeke, then carefull that the people might yeeld me a ſupply in ſo great a meaſure as my neceſsities required, without their too great loſſe. And you all that are Parliament men, & here preſent of both Houſes can beare me witneſſe, if euer I burthened or imployed any of you for any particular

Subsidies, or summes by name, further then my laying open the particular necessities of my state, or yet if euer I spake to any Priuie Councellour, or any of my learned Councell, to labour voyces for mee to this end; I euer detested the hunting for *Emendicata Suffragia*. A King that will rule and gouerne iustly, must haue regard to Conscience, Honour and Iudgement, in all his great Actions, (as your selfe M. Speaker remembred the other day.) And therefore ye may assure your selues, That I euer limit all my great Actions within that compasse. But as vpon the one side, I doe not desire you should yeeld to that extreame, in giuing mee more then (as I said formerly) vpon such necessary occasions are fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld; For that were to giue me a purse with a knife; So on the other side, I hope you will not make vain pretences of wants, out of causeless apprehensions, or idle excuses, neither cloake your owne humours (when your selues are vnwilling) by alledging the pouertie of the people. For al-

though

though I will be no leſſe iuſt, as a King; to ſuch perſons, then any other: (For my iuſtice with Gods grace, ſhalbe alike open to all) yet ye muſt thinke I haue no reaſon to thanke them, or gratifie them with any ſuits or matters of grace, when their arrand ſhall come in my way; And yet no man can ſay, that euer I quarrelled any man for refuſing mee a Subſidie, if he did it in a moderate faſhion, and with good reaſons. For him that denies a good Law, I will not ſpare to quarrell: But for graunting or denying money, it is but an effect of loue: And therefore for the point of my neceſsities, I onely deſire that I be not refuſed in that which of duety I ought to haue. For I know if it were propounded in the generall amongſt you, whether the Kings wants ought to bee relieued or not, there is not one of you, that would make queſtion of it. And though in a ſort this may ſeeme to be my particular; yet it cannot be diuided from the generall good of the Common wealth; For the King that is *Parens Patriæ*, telles you of

his wants. Nay, *Patria ipſa* by him ſpeakes vnto you. For if the King want, the State wants, and therefore the ſtrengthening of the King is the preſeruation and the ſtanding of the State; And woe be to him that diuides the weale of the King from the weale of the Kingdome. And as that king is miſerable (how rich ſoeuer hee be) that reignes ouer a poore people (for the hearts and riches of the people, are the Kings greateſt treaſure;) So is that Kingdome not able to ſubſiſt, how rich and potent ſoeuer the people bee, if their King wants meanes to mainteine his State: for the meanes of your King are the Sinewes of the Kingdom both in warre and peace: for in peace I muſt miniſter iuſtice vnto you, and in warre I muſt defend you by Armes: but neither of theſe can I do without ſufficient meanes, which muſt come from your Aide and Supply. I confeſſe it is farre againſt my nature to bee burthenſome to my people: for it cannot but grieue mee to craue of others, that was borne to bee begged of. It is true, I craue

more

more then euer King of England did; but I haue farre greater and iuster cause and reason to craue, then euer King of England had. And though my Treasurer hath at length declared the reasons vnto you of my necessities, and of a large supply that he craued for the same, wherein he omitted no arguments that can be vsed for that purpose; yet will I my selfe now shortly remember you some of the weightiest reasons that come in my head, to proue the equitie of my demand.

First, ye all know, that by the accession of more Crownes, which in my Person I haue brought vnto you, my charge must be the greater in all reason: For the greater your King be, both in his Dominion and number of Subiects, he cannot but be forced thereby to be at the more charge, and it is the more your honour, so to haue it.

Next, that posteritie and issue which it hath pleased God to send me for your vse, cannot but bring necessarily with it a greater proportion of charge. You all know

that the late Queene of famous memory (notwithſtanding her orbitie) had much giuen vnto her, and more then euer any of her predeceſſors had before her.

Thirdly, the time of creation of my Sonne doeth now draw neere, which I chuſe for the greater honour to be done in this time of Parliament. As for him I ſay no more; the ſight of himſelfe here ſpeakes for him.

Fourthly, it is true I haue ſpent much; but yet if I had ſpared any of thoſe things, which cauſed a great part of my expenſe, I ſhould haue diſhonored the kingdome, my ſelfe, and the late Queene. Should I haue ſpared the funerall of the late Queene? or the ſolemnitie of mine and my wiues entrie into this Kingdome, in ſome honourable ſort? or ſhould I haue ſpared our entrie into *London*, or our Coronation? And when moſt of the Monarches, and great Princes in Chriſtendome ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate my comming hither, and ſome of them came in perſon, was I not bound,

both

both for my owne honour, and the honor of the Kingdome, to giue them good entertainement? But in caſe it might bee obiected by ſome, that it is onely vpon occaſions of warre, that Kings obtaine great Supplies from their Subiects: notwithſtanding my interne Peace, I am yet in a kinde of warre, which if it bee without, the more is your ſafetie: For (as the Treaſurer told you at large) I am now forced both in reſpects of State, and my promiſe, and for the generall cauſe of Religion, to ſend a Supply of forces to *Cleues*, and how long that occaſion may laſt, or what greater ſupply the neceſsitie of that Errand may draw mee vnto, no man can yet tell. Beſides that, although I haue put downe that forme of warlike keeping of *Barwicke*; yet are all thoſe commaunders my penſioners that were the late Queenes ſouldiers. And I hope I ſuſtaine a prettie Seminarie of Souldiers in my Forts within this Kingdome, beſides the two cautionarie Townes in the Low countries, *Fluſhing* and *Brill*. And as for *Ireland*, yee all know

know how vncertaine my charges are euer there, that people being ſo eaſily ſtirred, partly thro ugh their barbaritie, and want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake forth in Rebellions. Yee know, how vnlooked for a Rebellion brake forth there the laſt yeere, which could not but put mee to extraordinary charges. Beſides, I doe maintaine there continually an Armie, which is a goodly Seminarie of expert and old Souldiers. And I dare neuer ſuffer the ſame to bee diminiſhed, till this Plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greateſt moate that euer came in the Rebels eyes: and it is to be looked for, that if euer they will be able to make any ſtirre, they will preſſe at it by all meanes, for the preuenting and diſcouraging this Plantation. Now it is true, that beſides all theſe honourable and neceſſary occaſions of my charge, I haue ſpent much in liberalitie: but yet I hope you will conſider, that what I haue giuen, hath bene giuen amongſt you; and ſo what comes in from you, goes

out

out againe amongſt you. But it may bee thought that I haue giuen much amongſt Scottiſhmen. Indeed if I had not beene liberall in rewarding ſome of my olde ſeruants of that Nation, ye could neuer haue had reaſon to expect my thankefulneſſe towards any of you that are more lately become my Subiects, if I had been ingrate to the olde: And yet ye will finde, that I haue dealt twiſe as much amongſt Engliſh men as I haue done to Scottiſhmen. And therefore he that in your Houſe was not aſhamed to affirme, that the ſiluer and gold did ſo abound in *Edenburgh*, was very farre miſtaken; but I wiſh him no worſe puniſhment, then that he ſhould only liue vpon ſuch profite of the money there. But I hope you will neuer miſlike me for my liberalitie, ſince I can looke very few of you this day in the face, that haue not made ſuites to me, at leaſt for ſome thing, either of honour or profit. It is true, a Kings liberality muſt neuer be dried vp altogether: for then hee can neuer maintaine nor ob-

lige his seruants and well deseruing Subiects. But that vastenesse of my expence is past, which I vsed the first two or three yeeres after my comming hither: And, as I oft vsed to say, that Christmas and open tide is ended. For at my first cõming here, partly ignorance of this State (which no man can acquire but by time and experience) & partly the forme of my comming being so honourable and miraculous, enforced me to extend my liberality so much the more at the beginning. Ye saw I made Knights then by hundreths, and Barons in great numbers: but I hope you finde I doe not so now, nor minde not to doe so hereafter. For to conclude this point anent expences, I hold that a Kings expence must alwayes be honourable, though not wastefull, and the charges of your King in maintaining those auncient honourable formes of liuing that the former Kings of England my predecessors haue done, and his liuing to bee ruled according to the proportion of his greatnesse, is aswell

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for the honor of your kingdom, as of your King. Now this cannot be ſupplied out of the aire or liquid elements, but muſt come from the people. And for remouing of that diſſidence which men may haue, that I mind not to liue in any waſtefull ſort hereafter, will you but looke vpon my ſelfe and my poſteritie; and if there were no more but that, it will teach you that if I were but a naturall man, I muſt needs be carefull of my expences. For as for my owne perſon, I hope none that knowes mee well, can thinke me but as little inclined to any prodigall humors of vnneceſſary things, as any other reaſonable man of a farre meaner eſtate. Therefore ſince (as I haue ſaid) I cannot be helped but from the people; I aſſure my ſelfe that you will well allowe me ſuch meaſure of Supply, as the people may beare, and ſupport him with more Honourable means then others haue had, that (as I may ſay without vaunting) hath brought you more Honour then euer you had. For I hope there are no good Sub-

iects either within, or out of the Parliament Houſe, that would not bee content for ſetting ſtreight once and ſetling the Honourable State of their King, to ſpare ſo much euery one of them out of their purſes, which peraduenture they would in one night throw away at Dice or Cards, or beſtow vpon a horſe for their fancies, that might breake his necke or his leg the next morning: Nay I am ſure euery good ſubiect would rather chooſe to liue more ſparingly vpon his owne, then that his Kings State ſhould be in want.

For concluſion then of this purpoſe, I wiſh you now to put a ſpeedy end to your buſineſſe. Freeneſſe in giuing graceth the gift, *Bis dat, qui citò dat*; The longer I want helpe, the greater will my debt ſtill riſe: and ſo muſt I looke for the greater helpes. And now I would pray you to turne your eyes with mee from home, and looke vpon forraine States. Conſider that the eyes of all forraine States are vpon this affaire, and in expectation what the

ſucceſſe

ſucceſſe thereof will bee; And what can they thinke, if ye depart without relieuing me in that proportion that may make me able to maintaine my State, but that either ye are vnwilling to helpe me, thinking me vnworthy thereof, or at leaſt that my State is ſo deſperate, as it cannot be repaired, and ſo that the Parliament parts in diſgrace with the King, and the King in diſtaſt with the Parliament, which cannot but weaken my reputation both at home, and abroad? For of this you may be aſſured, that forraine Princes care the more one for another, if they may haue reaſon to expect that they may bee able to doe them good or harme in Retribution. And ye know, that if a King fall to be contemned with his neighbours, that cannot but bring an oppreſſion and warre by them vpon him, and then will it be too late to ſupport the King, when the cure is almoſt deſperate. Things foreſeene and preuented, are euer eaſlieſt remedied: And therefore I would aduiſe you now ſo to ſettle

your buſineſſe, as ye may not take in hand ſo many things at once, as may both croſſe my errand, and euery one of them croſſe another. Ye remember the French Prouerbe, *Qui trop embraſſe, rien eſtreint*; We are not in this Parliament to make our Teſtament, as if we ſhould neuer meet againe, and that all things that were to be done in any Parliament, were to be done at this time: and yet for filling vp of your vacant houres, I will recommend to your conſideration ſuch nature of things, as are to be ſpecially thought vpon in theſe times. Firſt I will beginne at GOD: for the beginning with him makes all other actions to be bleſſed: And this I meane by the cauſe of Religion. Next I will ſpeake of ſome things that concernes the common wealth. And thirdly, matters of Pleaſure and ornament to the kingdome.

As for Religion, we haue all great cauſe to take heed vnto it; Papiſts are waxed as proud at this time as euer they were, which makes

makes many to thinke they haue ſome newe Plot in hand. And although the pooreſt ſort of them be (God be thanked) much decreaſed, yet doeth the greater ſort of them daily increaſe, eſpecially among the ſœminine Sexe; nay they are waxed ſo proud, that ſome ſay, no man dare preſent them, nor Iudges meddle with them, they are ſo backed and vpholden by diuers great Courtiers. It is a ſurer & better way to remooue the materials of fire before they be kindled, then to quench the fire when once it is kindled.

Nam leuius lædit quicquid præuidimus antè.

I doe not meane by this to mooue you to make ſtronger Lawes then are alreadie made, but ſee thoſe Lawes may bee well executed that are in force; otherwiſe they cannot but fal into contempt and become ruſtie. I neuer found, that blood and too much ſeueritie did good in matters of Religion: for, beſides that it is a ſure rule in Diuinitie, that God neuer loues to plant

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his Church by violence and bloodſhed; naturall reaſon may euer perſwade vs, and daily experience prooues it true, That when men are ſeuerely perſecuted for Religion, the gallantneſſe of many mens ſpirits, and the wilfulneſſe of their humors, rather then the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe, makes them to take a pride boldly to endure any torments, or death it ſelfe, to gaine thereby the reputation of Martyrdome, though but in a falſe ſhadow.

Some doubts haue beene conceiued anent the vſing of the Oath of Allegiance; and that part of the Acte which ordaines the taking thereof, is thought ſo obſcure, that no man can tell who ought to be preſſed therewith. For I my ſelfe, when vpon a time I called the Iudges before mee at their going to their Circuits, I moued this queſtion vnto them; wherein, as I thought they could not reſolutely anſwere mee: And therefore if there be any ſcruple touching the miniſtring of it, I would wiſh it now to be cleared. And ſiuce I haue with

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my owne pen brought the Popes quarell vpon me, and proclaimed publique defiance to *Babylon* in maintaining it; ſhould it now ſleepe, and ſhould I ſeeme (as it were) to ſteale from it againe?

As for Recuſants, let them be all duely preſented without exception: for in times paſt there hath bene too great a conniuence, and forbearing of them, eſpecially of great mens wiues, and their kinne and followers. None ought to be ſpared from being brought vnder the danger of Law, and then it is my part to vſe Mercie, as I thinke conuenient. To wincke at faults, and not to ſuffer them to be diſcouered, is no Honour, nor Mercy in a King, neither is he euer thanked for it; It onely argues his dulneſſe: But to forgiue faults after they are confeſſed, or tried, is Mercy. And now I muſt turne me in this caſe to you, my Lords the Biſhops, and euen exhort you earneſtly to be more carefull, then you haue bene, that your Officers may more duely preſent Recuſants, then heretofore

they haue done, without exception of perſons; That although it muſt be the worke of GOD that muſt make their mindes to be altered, yet at leaſt by this courſe they may bee ſtayed from increaſing, or inſulting vpon vs.

And that ye all may know the trueth of my heart in this caſe, I diuide all my Subiects that are Papiſts, into two rankes: either olde Papiſts that were ſo brought vp in times of Poperie, like olde Queene *Mary* Prieſtes, and thoſe, that though they be yonger in yeeres, yet haue neuer drunke in other milke, but beene ſtill nuſled in that blindneſſe: Or elſe ſuch as doe become Apoſtates, hauing once bene of our Profeſsion, and haue forſaken the Trueth, either vpon diſcontent, or practiſe, or elſe vpon a light vaine humour of Noueltie, making no more ſcruple to ſeeke out new formes of Religion, then if it were but a new forme of Garment, or a new cut or courtſey after the French faſhion.

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For the former ſort, I pitie them; but if they be good and quiet Subiects, I hate not their perſons; and if I were a priuate man, I could well keepe a ciuill friendſhip and conuerſation with ſome of them. But as for thoſe Apoſtates, who, I know, muſt bee greateſt haters of their owne Sect, I confeſſe I can neuer ſhew any fauourable countenance towards them, and they may all of them be ſure without exception, that they ſhall neuer finde any more fauour of mee, further then I muſt needes in Iuſtice afford them. And theſe would I haue the Law to ſtrike ſeuereſt vpon, and you carefulleſt to diſcouer. Yee know there hath beene great ſtirre kept for begging Concealements theſe yeeres paſt; and I pray you let me begge this concealement both of the Biſhops, and Iudges, that Papiſts be no longer concealed.

Next, as concerning the Common wealth, I doe ſpecially recommend vnto you the framing of ſome new Statute for preſeruation of woods. In the end of the

laſt Seſsion of Parliament, ye had a Bill amongſt you of that ſubiect; but becauſe you found ſome faults therein, you caſt out the whole Bill. But I could haue rather wiſhed that ye had either mended it, or made a new one; For to caſt out the whole Bill becauſe of ſome faults, was euen as if a man, that had a newe garment brought him, would chuſe rather to goe naked, then haue his garment made fit for him. But on my conſcience, I cannot imagine why you ſhould ſo lightly haue eſteemed a thing, ſo neceſſary for the Common wealth, if it were not out of a litle frowardneſſe amongſt you at that time, that what I then recommended earneſtly vnto you, it was the worſe liked of. The maintenance of woods is a thing ſo neceſſary for this Kingdome, as it cannot ſtand, nor be a Kingdome without it. For it concernes you both in your *Eſſe*, *Bene eſſe*, and in pleaſures. Your *Eſſe*: for without it you want the vſe of one of the moſt neceſſarie Elements (which is Fire and ſewell to

dreſſe

dresse your meate with) for neither can the people liue in these colde Countries, if they want fire altogether, nor yet can you dresse your meate without it; and I thinke you will ill liue like the Cannibals vpon raw flesh: for the education of this people is farre from that. As to your *bene esse*; The decay of woods will necessarily bring the decay of Shipping, which both is the security of this Kingdome, since God hath by nature made the Sea to be the wall of this Iland; and the rather now, since God hath vnited it all in my person and Crowne; As also by the decay of Shipping will you loose both all your forraine commodities that are fit for this countrey, and the venting of our owne, which is the losse of Trade, that is a maine pillar of this kingdome. And as for Pleasure, ye know my delight in Hunting and Hawking, and many of your selues are of the same mind; and all this must needes decay, by the decay of Woods. Ye haue reason therefore to prouide a good Law vpon this Subiect.

Now as to the laſt point concerning matters of pleaſure, it conſiſts in the preſeruing of Game, which is now almoſt vtterly deſtroyed through all the kingdome. And if you offer not now a better Law for this, then was made in the laſt Seſsion of Parliament, I will neuer thanke you for it. For as for your Law anent Partridge and Feſant, you haue giuen leaue to euery man how poore a Farmour that euer he be, to take and deſtroy them in his owne ground how he liſt. But I pray you, how can the Game be maintained, if Gentlemen that haue great Lordſhips ſhall breed and preſerue them there, and ſo ſoone as euer they ſhall but flie ouer the hedge and light in a poore fellowes Cloſe, they ſhall all bee deſtroyed? Surely I know no remedie for preſeruing the Game that breedes in my grounds, except I caſt a roofe ouer all the ground, or elſe put veruels to the Partridges feet with my Armes vpon them, as my Hawkes haue: otherwiſe I know not how they ſhalbe knowen to be the Kings Partridges,

tridges, when they light in a Farmours Cloſe.

And by your Lawe againſt ſtealing of Deere or Conies, after a long diſcourſe and prohibition of ſtealing them, you conclude in the end with a reſtriction, that all this puniſhment ſhall be vnderſtood to be vſed againſt them that ſteale the Game in the night: Which haue much encouraged all the looſer ſort of people, that it is no fault to ſteale Deere, ſo they doe it not like theeues in the night. As was that Law of the *Lacedemonians* againſt theft, that did not forbid theft, but onely taught them to doe it cunningly, and without diſcouerie. Whereupon a fooliſh boy ſuffered a Foxe to gnaw his heart through his breaſt. And this doctrine is like that Leſſon of the Cannon Law, *Si non caſte, tamen caute*. I know you thinke that I ſpeake partially in this caſe like a Hunter; But there is neuer a one of you that heares me, that cares the leaſt for the ſport, for preſeruation of the game, but he would be

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as glad to haue a paſtie of Veniſon if you might get it, as the beſt Hunter would: And if the game bee not preſerued, you can eate no Veniſon. As for Partridge and Pheſant, I doe not deny that Gentlemen ſhould haue their ſport, and ſpecially vpon their owne ground. But firſt I doe not thinke ſuch Game and Pleaſures ſhould be free to baſe people. And next I would euen wiſh that Gentlemen ſhould vſe it in a Gentlemanlike faſhion, and not with Nets, or Gunnes, or ſuch other vngentlemanlike faſhions that ſerue but for vtter deſtruction of all Game, nor yet to kill them at vnſeaſonable times, as to kill the Pheſant and Partridges when they are no bigger then Mice, when as for euery one their Hawkes kill, ten will be deſtroyed with their Dogges and Horſe feete; beſides the great and intollerable harme they doe to Corne in that ſeaſon.

And now in the end of all this faſchious Speach, I muſt conclude like a Grey Frier, in ſpeaking for my ſelfe at laſt. At the beginning

ginning of this Seſsion of Parliament, when the Treaſourer opened my neceſſities vnto you, then my Purſe onely laboured; But now that word is ſpread both at home and abroad of the demaunds I haue made vnto you; my Reputation laboureth as well as my Purſe. For if you part without the repairing of my State in ſome reaſonable ſort, what can the world thinke, but that the euill will my Subiects beare vnto me, hath bred a refuſe? And yee can neuer part ſo, without apprehending that I am diſtaſted with your behauiour, and yet to be in feare of my diſpleaſure. But I aſſure and promiſe my ſelfe farre otherwiſe.

THus haue I now performed my promiſe, in preſenting vnto you the Chriſtall of your Kings Heart.

Yee knowe that principally by three wayes yee may wrong a Mirrour.

Firſt, I pray you, looke not vpon my Mirror with a falſe light: which yee doe, if ye miſtake, or miſ-vnderſtand my Speach, and ſo alter the ſence thereof.

But ſecondly, I pray you beware to ſoile it with a foule breath, and vncleane hands: I meane, that ye peruert not my words by any corrupt affections, turning them to an ill meaning, like one, who when hee heares the tolling of a Bell, fancies to himſelfe, that it ſpeakes thoſe words which are moſt in his minde.

And laſtly, (which is worſt of all) beware to let it fall or breake; (for glaſſe is brittle) which ye doe, if ye lightly eſteeme it, and by contemning it conforme not your ſelues to my perſwaſions.

To conclude then. As all theſe three dayes of *Iubile* haue fallen in the midſt of this ſeaſon of penitence, wherein you haue preſented your thankes to mee, and I the like againe to you: So do I wiſh and hope, that the ende of this Parliament will bee

ſuch,

ſuch, as wee may all haue cauſe (both I your Head, and yee the Body) to ioyne in Euchariſticke Thanks and Praiſes vnto God, for our ſo good and happy an end.